

~~RESTRICTED~~PREMIER STALIN'S 15 OCTOBERADDRESS TO THE 19TH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

Comrades! Permit me to express my gratitude in the name of our Congress to all fraternal parties and groups, representatives of which honored our Congress with their presence, or who sent messages to the Congress, for their fraternal greetings, for their wishes of success, for their trust. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

To us this trust is especially valuable. It denotes the readiness to support our Party in its struggle for the bright future of the peoples, in its struggle against war, in its struggle to safeguard peace. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

It would be erroneous to think that our Party, which has become a mighty force, no longer needs support. This is not true. Our Party and our country always needed and will need trust, sympathy, and support of fraternal peoples abroad.

A particular feature of this support lies in the fact that every support of the peaceful strivings of our Party by any fraternal party denotes at the same time the support of its own people in the struggle to preserve peace. When, in 1918-1919 British workers, during the armed attack of the British bourgeoisie on the Soviet Union, organized a struggle against war under the slogan "Hands Off Russia," this was support, support primarily of the struggle of their own people for peace and, furthermore, also support of the Soviet Union.

When Comrade Thorez or Comrade Togliatti state that their peoples will not fight against the peoples of the Soviet Union (stormy applause) then this is support, primarily, of the French and Italian workers and peasants struggling for peace, and, secondarily, support of the peace-loving strivings of the Soviet Union. This peculiarity of mutual support is explained by the fact that the interests of our Party not only do not contradict, but, on the contrary, merge with the interests of peace-loving peoples. (Stormy applause.)

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As regards the Soviet Union, its interests are inseparable from the cause of peace. Our Party cannot be indebted to fraternal parties, and it must in its turn render them support and also support their peoples in their struggle for liberation, in their struggle for the preservation of peace. As is known, this is just the way it acts. (Stormy applause.)

After our Party had come into power in 1917 and after the Party had undertaken real measures for the liquidation of the capitalist and land-owners' oppression, the representatives of fraternal parties, admiring the courage and successes of our Party, had given it the name of a "shock brigade" of the world revolutionary and workers' movement.

By this means they expressed the hope that the successes of the "shock brigade" will alleviate the position of the peoples languishing under the oppression of capitalism. I think that our Party justified these hopes, especially during the second world war, when the Soviet Union routed the German and Japanese fascist tyranny and liberated the peoples of Europe and Asia from the threat of fascist slavery. (Stormy applause.)

Naturally, it was very difficult to fulfill this honorable role while the "shock brigade" was the one and only and while it had to fulfill this advance role practically singlehanded. Now matters are very different. When from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, new "shock brigades" have appeared in the form of popular democratic countries, it has become easier for our Party to struggle, and work has become more joyful. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

All Communist, democratic, workers' or peasants' parties which have not yet come to power and which continue to work under the heel of Draconic bourgeois laws deserve special attention. For them, of course, it is more difficult to work. However, it is not so difficult to work as it was for us, Russian Communists, during the tsarist period when the smallest movement of progress was considered the heaviest crime. However,

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Russian Communists stood firm; they were not frightened by difficulties and emerged victorious. It will be the same with these parties.

Why will it not be so difficult for these parties to work, as compared with the Russian Communists of the tsarist period? Because they see before them such examples of successes as exist in the Soviet Union and in the people's democratic countries. Consequently, they can learn from the mistakes and by the successes of these countries and can thus alleviate their work. Secondly, because the bourgeoisie itself, the chief enemy of the liberation movement, has changed, has become radically different, has become more reactionary, has lost the ties with the people and has thus weakened itself. It is understandable that this circumstance must in the same way alleviate the work of the revolutionary and democratic parties. (Stormy applause.)

Formerly the bourgeoisie permitted itself to be "liberal" and defended democratic freedoms, thus creating popularity for itself among the people. Now no trace of liberalism remains. There is no so-called personal freedom. Personal rights are acknowledged for people who have capital, and all other citizens are considered raw human material suitable only for exploitation. The principle of equality among peoples and nations has been trampled and has been replaced by the principle of full rights for the exploiting minority and no rights for the exploited majority of citizens. The banner of bourgeois democratic rights has been thrown overboard.

I think that this banner will have to be raised by you, the representatives of Communist and democratic parties, and carried forward by you if you want to rally around you the majority of the peoples. No one else can raise it. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Formerly the bourgeoisie was considered the head of a nation. It defended the rights and independence of a nation and placed them above everything. Now no trace remains of the "national principle." Now the bourgeoisie sells the rights and independence of the nation for dollars.

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The banner of national independence and of national sovereignty has been thrown overboard.

There can be no doubt that this banner will have to be raised by you, representatives of Communist and democratic parties, and carried forward if you want to be patriots of your country, if you want to become the leading force of the nation. There is no one else to raise it. (Stormy applause.)

Thus the matter stands at present. It is obvious that all these circumstances must lighten the work of all Communist and democratic parties which have not yet come to power. Consequently, there is every reason to expect the successes and victory of fraternal parties in the countries under the domination of capital. (Stormy applause.)

Long live our fraternal parties! (Prolonged applause.)

Long live the leaders of fraternal parties! (Prolonged applause.)

Long live peace among nations! (Prolonged applause.)

Down with the fomentors of war! (Standing ovation "Long live Comrade Stalin!"; "Hoorah for Comrade Stalin!"; "Long live the great leader of the workers of the world, Comrade Stalin!"; "To the great Stalin, hoorah!"; "Long live peace among nations!"; exclamations of "Hoorah!")

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